/7 cont./

843 278 Sometimes a woman who knows that her delivery is likely to be difficult takes various herbs, which she buys from the women of the Sierra de Jarara, who understand their curative properties, or gets someone to obtain them from the Arhuaco /Cagaba/ Indians, to whom they frequently go in search of medical remedies.

844 278 At the time that labor pains begin, the woman takes infusions of various herbs which her relatives have previously obtained. With these the delivery progresses rapidly, and the birth occurs quickly and successfully. Also during delivery she takes one or more doses of the juice of the herb which serves to reduce the size of the fetus.

842 278 Once the child is born and in case the placenta is delayed, the woman drinks the juice from the pulp of a pumpkin (Crescecia Cujeta) and that of a new /nueva/ herb with the purpose, once the delivery has occurred, of preventing an early recurrence of pregnancy once sexual life is renewed. This has the property of preventing conception for a period up to four years when taken in larger than normal dosage.

844 If the herbal remedies do not produce the hoped-for result, the woman's relatives with her assistance recapitulate the taboos that were possibly violated during the months of pregnancy by her, by her husband, or by both, and they endeavor to make some sort of reparation. Thus, for example, if she had seen a snake in its hole or if her husband had killed it, or if she had looked fixedly at it and had not complied with the precept to step over it to arrest its baleful influence, as is their belief, her relatives go in search of a snake of the same species, which they kill and bring to place on the abdomen of the woman in labor, after which the delivery is successfully accomplished. Should they find that the husband was hunting with firearms or had simply fired a gun, they proceed to wash /8/ the barrel of the firearm in question and give this water to the woman to drink. With this the delivery is quickly completed.

/51 cont./

881 As soon as the menses appear, the head of the girl is closely shaved. She is placed naked but wrapped in a robe /manta/ in a supine position in a hammock which is slung up close to the ridgepole inside the house. Beneath the hammock a cloth is strung so that the girl cannot be seen from below.

In this position and as immobile as possible, she remains for five days (some say for only three), without eating and complying with a series of rules which later will have importance in her adult life. For this reason these rules must be observed by her to the letter, and she must be closely watched and counseled by a kinswoman, generally a maternal aunt, who does not leave her by day or night while she is suspended above, reminding her of what she should do and prohibiting her from doing what is tabooed so that she may not suffer the consequences in her future life.

[278 789] Before being placed in the hammock, the woman who is in charge of her gives her a herb drink to make her vomit a great deal, with the aim that the girl will hurl out, along with the food she took when she was not yet adult, all her infantile psychological characteristics, such as her mischievous and disobedient nature, her imagination, her way of thinking and believing, her /52/ irresponsibility, her incapacity for work, and, moreover, all those characteristic bodily mannerisms of a girl. Beyond this, the mother a kinswoman, or female friend [832] who may have a potent love charm considered of great effectiveness, places it on her neck or, if it is for external application, rubs it on the genital organs, on the breasts, and all over the body as prescribed, because at this particular time it is effective and especially because it is the propitious moment to acquire powers of attracting the opposite sex, qualities she will have to have in adult life to obtain the married happiness for which she is now being prepared.

If these two prescriptions are not complied with or are carried out faultily, the girl, changed into an adult, will be lacking in judgment and common sense in her actions, which

/54 cont./

881 well as the whole organism of the future woman, must be com-
832 pletely renewed and different from what she had when she was a child and which she leaves behind on suffering the first menstruation, as well as each one of her childish psychic and physical habits.

881 One of the principal preoccupations of the person responsi-
278 ble for the care of the novice is her medication. This medical treatment includes especially the daily and repeated drinking of infusions or juices of certain herbs which are intended to assist her to reach perfection in all that is related to her future life. One of these medicines is the herb called hawapi, which is obtained from the herbsellers of the Sierra de Jarara and Sierra de Macuira, who grind it carefully into a paste which hardens with time. They daily scrape off a small portion of this, which is dissolved in water and given to the girl before her first meal, after the daily bath, at midday, and at sunset. The aim of this is to give the young woman a bodily aspect different from the childish one she had, as by its means she loses her drawn-out lines and her sex is defined by the development of her breasts, of her hips, and all of the adult female form, following the accepted canons of feminine physical beauty: a tall body with broad hips, breasts well developed, erect, solid, and having pronounced curves but firm of flesh. This herb, according to local belief, supplies fat to the essential parts of the body. /55/

Another of the medical attentions is directed to avoiding the return of menstruation during all the time the girl is secluded. If she is well cared for, says the Guajiro woman, it will not reappear; otherwise, however, it will. To obtain this result she has recourse to the empirical and traditional knowledge which she has of plants, and she gives her a series of juices or potions to avoid menstruation. The women say that these medicines influence their married life, as the woman who is well looked after during her seclusion will have easy deliveries, normal pregnancies, healthy children who will grow

/55 cont./

881 normally, and above all she will not be worn out by too frequent
278 childbearing, since all these remedies in the long run are made use of to avoid the woman's having these cares, so much so that in the case of the very poor girls sterilization or at least a very limited fecundity is hoped for, because they know that they and their offspring will be practically in the hands of the stronger groups who can easily enslave their sons and daughters and nephews and nieces by the arbitrary and exaggerated use of legal institutions.

Even if the girl enters the Capuchin mission and for this
881 reason does not go through with the initiation in her home, and
278 even if her parents, influenced by the missionaries, decide to
797 forego this custom or are prevented by poverty from holding it, she does not forget -- and her companions back her up -- to take the medicines prescribed even though she does not undergo the regimen of seclusion. During a long period of time -- which shows what value she herself sets on her novitiate -- every morning she takes the juice of herbs which she knows of or which are given to her, to avoid menstruation and to obtain the objectives mentioned above. (In order to clarify further of the significance with respect to maternity in the initiation of young women, we refer the reader to the section Death of the First-born, Chap. I, pp. 10 ff.)

The economic aspect which she must learn and which by
881 the perfection and acquisition of new techniques now plays a
286 very important part is that of weaving. The woman during her seclusion improves her knowledge of this trade, which she began to learn during her prepubertal period. This matter has so much importance that in cases where a girl has been abducted and her maternal relatives present their claim for compensation payment, the man can refuse to buy her, alleging she is not able to weave. Furthermore, the woman by weaving earns money for the support of the home which is in her care. She must also supply her kin, including her husband, with guayucos /loincloths/, saddle blankets /pellones/, and other woven necessities.

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581 832 A woman tries to maintain these qualities as she well knows that they form the center of attraction to a man and that maternity steadily destroys them. This may be one of the reasons for the increasing use of birth control, for which they take herbs that do not allow them to conceive, abortives of all kinds, and they take advantage of their knowledge of their periods of sterility and avoid sexual intercourse at other than these periods. 278 842 847

Their facial features are of no great importance to them so long as they conform to the anthropological norms of the group. They prefer a face with large, dark eyes and beautiful, healthy teeth. Also, they are especially attracted by the whiteness of the skin as it indicates social standing because it is a sign that the woman is better able to look after herself by protecting herself from the sun of the region. During her /62/ seclusion the girl does not expose herself to the sunlight, and her greatest pride is that her skin has become whiter. Every morning she bathes with water left out previously in the evening dew, which besides having magic effects has the property of whitening the skin, and when she goes visiting she always covers her face with facial paints -- a customary practice required by etiquette, which also protects her from the sun's rays. During her seclusion the girl also complies with other beautifying and magic practices, such as denying herself certain meat like deer meat or animal udder, since this last, for example, will wrinkle her rapidly and she will lose some of her physical attractiveness.

A woman is well aware that her future married life will be affected in great measure by her preserving an agreeable appearance and that if the man does not feel satisfied she will be relegated to second place, and he will acquire another woman. For this reason she continually struggles to benefit by all known means to recapture her husband and retain him and avoid his acquiring other women. This is the reason that the mother, when her daughter is in the hammock ready to be hoisted up during her initiation, places on her a love charm which has the property of attracting men and of which we spoke in a previous chapter.

/120 cont./

595 follow the same line of conduct with regard to the bond servants who serve their husbands as concubines. However, this legal action is not always taken, and the wife may overlook the whole affair.

When a wife feels despised or mistreated by her husband and put in an inferior position by a co-wife, it is not unusual for her to wish to kill her husband and actually to carry out this desire. The Guajiro, who knows this sentiment, appeals to it when there is a fight going on between two clan groups, by paying the woman whom he knows is unhappily married to kill her husband. At his suggestion, she gives her husband algodonillo /? algodoncillo, a milkweed/ poison in his coffee, ground-up glass beads, poison for jaquars /tigres/, or puts the juice of a small, very poisonous lizard into the rum her husband is accustomed to drink. This practice is so well known that men, during war time, do not go to their wives' houses.

The other norm of conduct followed by the wife in such cases is a passive one: She does everything possible to condition her conduct as a married woman to the idealized cultural patterns in order to try to retain the affection of her husband to the utmost and thus prevent new women taking her place. If the husband is not completely satisfied in spite of these efforts, the woman tries to please him sexually. She believes that if she attains this objective, her matrimonial security is assured. That is why, besides doing everything they can to obtain such a satisfaction, they have recourse to magic, as we have explained several times in this work.

Finally, the woman may adopt an attitude of indifference to her husband, without any claims or anxiety, taking his lack of affection as the most natural thing in the world, in this way trying to bring about his return; or she may praise her rival when her husband mentions her in order to give the lie to any accusation that the other woman may have made. (Cf. in this chapter, Behavior of the woman with her husband).

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628 At last the amount of the payment is definitively stipulated; so many animals, so many ornaments etc. The offenders fix a date on which they hope to have everything gathered together in the house of their leading man. The arbitrator goes there on that date, and through their arbitrator, or cacique, they hand over to him in a solemn manner each one of the things they have promised to pay, so that it can be finally and duly noted. The representative then gathers together everything that has been handed over and counts it very carefully in full view of everyone. He receives the ornaments agreed upon and puts them away.

He asks for help in taking the animals given in payment and the other objects to the lands of the others. Members of the group accept this charge at the order of their leader and drive the animals to the borders of the litigants' property, and then return. From there the livestock are taken by members of the offended clan to the house of the murdered man's mother or to that of his maternal uncles. The head of the family group receives from the hands of the arbitrator the stipulated payment and distributes it in a way that we shall see later on, in the pertinent section.

When feelings run very high on both sides and when after postponing and holding several different meetings no agreement is reached /207/ between the two groups, due to the exaggerated greediness of one side and the bad will of the other, the moment arrives when the arbitrator can do no more, and as the problem remains without a peaceful solution, that is, without an agreement to pay, war becomes the only acceptable formula between the two enemy groups, a defensive war on the part of the group to which the murderer belongs, an offensive war on the part of the offended group. Before they know if there is a possibility of a peaceful solution, the men of each group begin to arm themselves quickly; 411 they take animals to town to trade them for guns and equipment, 278 and they quickly make bows and arrows, especially those with a point made from the sting ray which are used in war; they prepare poisons from poisonous animals, which they leave to rot and then use to put on the points of these arrows; and in addition, they seek, if possible, magic arrows in order to obtain an easy conquest of their enemy.

[17 cont.]
carrying out his function as community curer, and witch so that he will be able to act with certainty in curing illnesses, in the propitiation of the rainfall indispensable for good harvests, as well as in his tasks of keeping away pestilences and epidemics which could decimate the people under his care.

As has been seen in the section treating the period of training, this is limited first of all to transmitting to the new shaman the most successful way of insuring that the spirit can reach him. His science in no manner implies that he possess knowledge relating to the medicinal value of plants, of animals, etc., but it does imply that the process of apprenticeship, or better said his science, [18] is based on the successful invocation of the spirit, which has the true wisdom, which is the only curer in reality, the all-powerful able to propitiate rain and cast out pestilences and epidemics and whose science is manifested through the medium of the medicine man whenever the spirit wishes to carry out its designs. The shaman by himself and for himself is worthless. He is an ordinary man, subject as are others to the evil influences of the spirits of sickness and death. His fundamental value rests in the absorption into himself of a powerful spirit which places him on a footing of equality with the spirits of the other world, and in many cases even on a superior one, when it enables him frequently to emerge triumphant in the cure of sickness.

One has to emphasize in the personality of the Guajiro shaman the fact that he has almost exclusively the function of making contact with the supernatural world, and it is by this means that he endeavors to effect the cure of his patients. He is partially or totally ignorant of medicine based on herbs, animals, parts of animals, or any other type of cure other than that exercised directly by the protector spirits that use him as their intermediary.

As will be seen in the corresponding chapters, the majority of child cures are effected by female diviners with the indicated methods, which are based on what is called participative or contaminant magic. Also, the herbs actually very few — which are used to cause abortion, to restrict the growth of the fetus,

[18 cont.]
*1756 to bring on lactation, to gain weight, etc., are partly public
1755 knowledge and partly privately known by a few families who tra-
[208 ditionally preserve the secret of their use for their personal benefit.
847] By what has been previously stated we see how the ceremony of healing is a perpetual invocation of the spirit, a continual fear that it might withdraw its aid for whatever motive, and a perennial anxiety to satisfy its slightest wish in order to obtain the success sought. To give evidence for this we shall see how the Guajiro shaman effects a cure when he has been called in to handle one.

[431] First of all, before he initiates such activities, he demands a gift. For this reason whenever a native needs the services of the shaman for magico-medical attention for some relative, he goes to present himself to the shaman with a gold necklace or some other valuable present.

171 Each time the shaman goes to cure a sick person he takes
*1756 with him two maracas. This custom is rather widespread in
1755 South America, where the magic power of the maraca appears to be extraordinary and is commonly accepted, although with some variations from tribe to tribe whether in the [19] quality of its different parts, in the artifacts adornment, in the manner of using it, etc. To corroborate this it is sufficient to quote Professor Métraux again, who says, in reference to the apprentice shaman: "During his initiation the novice learns to make use of the accessories indispensable to the magic art. The most important of all, that which in some manner symbolizes the profession is the maraca or rattle made from a calabash containing some seeds or pebbles and provided with a handle." (15) [Cited in French.]

15. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 217.

[352] The medicine man accommodates himself in a seat especially reserved for such occasions and carved in wood in the form of an animal, but if such an artifact is lacking, he will use any convenient seat. The custom of using a seat of this type is also found in the Guianas. "The wooden seat is an equally indispensable accessory for the shaman of the Guianas. It is often carved in the form of a jaguar, an animal that plays an important part in the

[44 cont.]

411 641 721 some of the Guajiro communities during their pillaging expeditions.

411 782 782 The value of the arrow, considered to be infallible, stemmed from the extremely important fact that its tip was anointed with the blood of a sacrificed child. The arrow took into itself, by magic contamination, the sacred and impure quality of the sacrificial ceremony performed on the child, [45] a quality of extreme value when one realizes that the child's own father performed the sacrifice.

782 The process is as follows: The Kusina, according to the story of our informant, an Indian woman from the Sierra de Jarara who had heard from her parents a great deal about the customs of these Indians, with whom the people of the Sierra had had dealings, were accustomed to take a male child from their own family. They carried him off to some distant hills situated in the interior of the Cocina sierra. They took him up a particular mountain, and on its summit under a pó (a special tree) they killed him. He was killed in this way: They blocked up his nostrils and squeezed his throat with their hands, that is, they strangled him, and with a pointed stone they struck his forehead several times continuously until blood flowed from it. This blood, which was exactly what they wished to obtain in the sacrifice, was not allowed to spill, but was gathered very carefully in a very clean utensil. In recent times the blood was collected in an empty tin such as those used for sardines or salmon, but it is to be supposed that in olden times a special ceramic container was used. Once the blood had been collected, they put it to boil in the same utensil in which it had been collected. Next they put it in another that in modern times was a glass container, although in former times it must have been of some other material, in order to preserve it. This utensil which contained the boiled blood of the boy was kept in the woods among stones [543] which they collected for this purpose. The executioner, who was none other than the boy's father, had prepared beforehand a [278] quantity of arrows tipped with the poison of a ray, which he later [453] anointed with the blood and distributed among the rest of the Kusina natives or the Guajiro in general, in exchange for livestock. The price that had to be paid for one of these arrows was

[67 cont.]

826 he will die consumed by flames. Likewise, if a lock of human
759 hair is buried with a small quantity of dog excrement, the person who carries out this act of witchcraft can cause any harm he wishes to the owner of the hair.

648 Medicine practiced by foreigners. To ensure that his child
757 will be sound and fit and show greater resistance to sickness, the Guajiro father makes use of the medicine of the Arhuaco, who like the other natives we know connect this art directly with magic. It is well to take note, before pursuing this description, that the Arhuaco are held to be excellent doctors by all their neighbors, not only by the Indians but also by mestizos and mulattos, and even by Whites. The fame of these curers is such that sick people from the neighboring cities of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and even from Maracaibo have themselves carried to them to be cured of their illnesses, or, as a last resort, send them some of their personal articles of underclothing by which the Arhuaco curer determines the sickness from which the individual is suffering and sends the necessary medicines.

The Guajiro have not escaped this influence. Their geographical nearness facilitates communication with the Arhuaco, but we do not know whether this interchange of relations was already established before the Conquest or if it is due to the external influence of the colonists who have settled on the slopes of the Sierra or in regions close to them, who in their turn have transmitted the legend of the fame of the Arhuaco as doctors to the Indians of La Guajira.

757 The fact is that generally, shortly before the birth of a
751 child or when some opportunity presents itself, the father goes
● 278 to the Arhuaco, and from one of them who knows the preventa-
843 tive or curative value of plants he obtains several of these in order to doctor his child or prevent its sicknesses. Among these herbs are the vira-vira, quina dulce ["sweet quina], the frailejón, and a number of others. These herbs are shredded and put into a bottle containing rum and to this mixture is added two kinds of drops, also of plant juices, which have been carefully [68] "whispered" or "muttered" over by the Arhuaco doctor. These drops, in addition to the plants to which we have previously

[68 cont.]

757 751 278 643 referred, are what contain the curative properties because of their magic force. These medicines are applied in the following manner: The infusion of herbs with rum and the drops "whispered over" are added to previously boiled water, and the child is bathed at birth with this mixture. When the mother feels the pains of approaching childbirth, she also takes a glass of this mixture and repeats this a few moments after the child is born, which helps her to get rid of the placenta.

• • •

75 Thus far the notes that we have concerning the magico-preventative or curative medical methods of the Indians of La Guajira [sic]. These show first, how medicine, like birth, sickness, and death, is subject to a series of cultural patterns, the result of the individual's relations, magic or spiritualistic (so far as the spirit of the dead is concerned), with his environ-
774 ment. The latter are to be understood in their widest meaning, since as Doctor W. Born says:

> "Primitive man's intellectual world is not really limited to sorcery since there are too many enigmas facing young humanity such as birth and death, dreams and sickness. To explain these, primitive man appeals to various supernatural forces. From experiences in the world of dreams, he derived the belief in a soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death. The power of the soul to free itself from its body (as dreams seemed to indicate) accepted, it was natural that he should accept the possibility of the existence of independent and active souls in nature. This state renders feasible not only a polydemonism but also the notion of a material soul. Polydemonism admits that a demon, a sort of soul, lives in everything in nature, while the substance of the soul is an invisible energy which emanates from objects. As the substance

[69 cont.]
of self-defense. If we take into account the high infant mortality among the Guajiro population, which reaches a very high rate (32.97%) according to the data collected by the investigators Virginia de Pineda Giraldo and María Rosa de Recasens, whose findings were published in the Boletín de Anqueología (47), we

47. Pineda Giraldo Roberto. "Informe preliminar sobre aspectos sociales y económicos de la Guajira [Preliminary Report on Social and Economic Aspects of La Guajira]."

can even better explain the series of prohibitions, of patterns established to protect the future mothers and unborn children from the malevolent influence of the spirits, whether of humans, animals, etc.

On the other hand, we can deduce from this study the following points: 1) Medicine practiced by shamans, intermediaries between the two worlds, is carried out almost exclusively on adults, for whom they prescribe the curative methods they deem essential in accord with the patient's illness. 2) On the other hand, curing by [70] divination, which we have called household curing, using a common term, has its field of action among newborn babies and mothers-to-be. 3) In this last type we encounter an extremely interesting fact, the ambivalence of certain animals, represented by their double capacity to cause illness and at the same time to cure it. 4) In the application of household preventative medicine, magic called sympathetic is frequently practiced. 5) In one of the accounts we find the occurrence of the magic action of a plant. This deals with the plant used to make the mammary glands secrete their milk after a mother had lost it and the child still requires to be breast fed. As the plant is able to produce milk, the mother by contact with it will inevitably be able to do the same, according to native belief. This aspect has been fully treated by Castiglione in one of the chapters of his work Encantamiento y Magia [Enchantment and Magic]. We wish to quote only a few paragraphs which will better clarify

[70 cont.]

208 the magico-curative value of the plant under discussion: "Some-
757 times," says Castiglione, "as has been said, this popularity" (that of medicinal plants) "is derived from real therapeutic qualities as, for example, the use of quina roots, which is prescribed by scientific medicine; its power to cure intermittent fevers was well known among the peoples of pre-Columbian America. In
278 many other cases the virtues of these plants depend on their ap-
755 pearance, on the similarity of their roots, their flowers, or their fruit to certain characteristics of sicknesses or to some organ of the body." (48) Somewhat earlier, in referring to this second

48. Castiglioni, Op. cit., VI, 82.

category of plants, he tells us: "The second category embraces innumerable substances which by themselves, speaking objectively, cannot in any way have any effect, either favorable or unfavorable, but whose value stems exclusively and directly from the ideas they provoke in the minds of the people concerned." (49).

49. Castiglioni, Op. cit., VI, 81.

The influence of magic in medicine is borne out, finally, by the custom of visiting the Arhuaco doctors, in whom they see powerful magicians who possess the secret of praying to a powerful spirit to impregnate their remedies with its essence. It is this aspect which attracts the Guajiro, not the plants in themselves but the spirit, the demon if we may call it so, that is present in the drops which have been prayed over by the Arhuaco curer.

[71] V

Magic and Funerals

811 With the Guajiro Indians, as with the majority of primitive peoples, the complex ceremonial relating to death accounts for a great part of their activities, their manner of acting, thinking, and

[85 cont.]

766 head downward, and then they cover it with a piece of another clay olla, new, usually with a base. The urn is buried in the [834] woods at the foot of a special tree called in Guajiro huruwá ("within us," etymologically), with the idea that the other children that are born will not continue dying. No special ceremony accompanies the burial of the child, which must be carried out by the maternal uncle, since neither the father nor the mother may be present because it is believed that if they should be all their other children would also die as they were born.

765 When the first-born dies, and the work of its burial has been complied with, the mother is put through the following 766 procedure: She is hung in a hammock for three days in a closed room (it is really a small house made especially for the purpose). After three days have passed, she is unslung from the hammock, but she has to continue in seclusion for a further five [834] months (five lunar months), and the husband is prohibited from visiting her, with the idea of avoiding sexual contact. After this seclusion the husband may return, and they resume normal married life. During the time she is in the hammock, the [262] woman is not allowed to receive any food except a medicine called hawapi, which serves for fattening. This medicine is a ● [278] mixture of scraped roots dissolved in cold water [86] and is drunk after being strained. The wife receives this medicine from her mother, who acts as her nurse.

In other words, the mother, by reason of the death of her [821] first-born, has to repeat the complete cycle of seclusion as at the initiation of young women when they reach puberty. The ceremonial is the same, seclusion, taking of fattening medicine, sexual exclusion of the man, and in general all contact or relations with him, etc.

764 If in spite of these precautions the next child should also die, the previous cycle is not followed, but the baby is buried with all due ceremony. A fiesta is arranged for the burial, a wake is held with the usual distribution of liquor, and animals which the maternal and paternal grandparents supply are sacrificed. The mother undergoes a new special treatment but without those of seclusion.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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whom to exercise his begging propensities. To mention the dead before the relations is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's rancho, with nephew or uncle present, they will assuredly kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spur of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more oxen. Even if none of the dead person's relations are present, any friend can carry the news to the relations, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably resented, and the two castes are at war. It is not wise to mention names of any sort in the Goajira in mixed company. 551 628 689

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then tear-money has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Taguira suchírua tachón," "My tears on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, *achecaka*, is one thing, and to demand compensation, *manya*, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is secure, for the relations will suffer anything rather than allow the name of their dead to be abused. The following case of murder I witnessed in Ataipa. Some Pushainas drinking, one got on to a strange horse, and was ordered off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relations, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two oxen, one horse, two necklaces of cornelian beads, two sirapos of black beads (about 16 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more an extra than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting to kill another be wounded or killed, his family demand the same as though no attempt were made. 672 682 [426] [626] [628]

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention is shutting up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is enclosed in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and sirapo, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being *kaguapa*, a composition of medicinal herbs. According to birth, a rigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed. She can be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relations as "surtise sura pauru," "she is shut up in her house." The term of retirement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor people cannot afford to keep girls idle more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich enclose them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's requirements— 881 [278] [262] [556] [368]

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

In weapons the Goajiro uses the old-fashioned bow and arrow, along with the latest breech-loading rifle. He never strolls ten yards from the rancho without his arrows stuck in his sash and the inseparable bow in his hand. Arrows are of three classes: bolts for killing birds and lizards, *kats*, having a nail or piece of hard wood for a head neatly covered with wax; arrows proper, for killing game and war, *siguarrai*, with iron heads made from old knives filed and worked into shape; and thirdly the terrible poisoned rays, *simará*: these are an ordinary arrow-shaft, with two inches of the bony weapon of the sting-ray (*queraguai*) loosely fastened to the end, well covered with poison. To prevent accidents, each head is covered by a cane sheath. The poison is putrefied animal matter—toads, snakes, and other reptiles allowed to putrefy and boiled down. When newly done the poison is said to be weak, the same when too old, so the arrows have to be re-dipped at stated intervals (about nine months). Death subvenes from three to twelve days afterwards, a sort of blood-poisoning, and is tolerably certain if the ray-bone has not been got out (a most difficult operation) and the wound well cauterised with a red-hot nail. The Cocinas of Yuripicho are reputed the best makers, and enjoy a sort of monopoly. A bunch of twenty-four arrows is sold by them for a dress cut of cotton (eight yards. None of the arrows are feathered; the shafts are made from cane, reeds, and also solid wood. As to firearms the Indian prefers the old "Crown" or "Tower" flintlock (*carcabuso*) to the Remington rifle, on account of the uncertainty of getting cartridges. The American flintlock (*carcabuso cayeta-yanakana*) is also much liked.

The principal industries among the Goajiras are collecting *divi-divi*, and salt, and breeding horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and goats, with the accompanying sale of hides. Their animals are celebrated in the neighbouring provinces for being docile, having been all brought up as it were by hand, for the Indian spares neither time nor trouble on his flocks.

With regard to the language, a small grammar was published in 1878 by Rafael Caludon. Unfortunately it was printed in Paris, while the author was in America, and is replete with errors in consequence. The language is a much richer one than is generally supposed, and taken as a whole has a euphonious, pleasing effect on the ear, much more so than the neighbouring Arhuaco. I have no space here to dwell upon its beauties, but cannot dismiss the subject without giving the following three examples of much-used words:—

Achinga, a name.	Ita, a cup (gourd).	Yara, a headdress.
Tachinga, my name.	Ta-ita-in, my cup.	Takiyara, my headdress.
Pachinga, your name.	Pi-ita-in, your cup.	Pikiyara, your headdress.
Nichinga, his name.	Ni-ita-in, his cup.	Nikiyara, his headdress.
Sachinga, her name.	Si-ita-in, her cup.	Sikiyara, her headdress.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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411 by an empty cartridge case, to which a metal ring is sometimes attached, giving a musical note with every shot.

Feathered arrows show many designs. Bird arrows may be tipped with cartridge cases or with large, rounded, wooden knobs about 1 inch (2.5 cm.) in diameter. Heads made from nails are used for small game. Serrated metal-tipped arrows are used in warfare; but the most dangerous arrow is pointed with a sting ray tail, sharpened to a fine needlelike point and fitted into the hollow end of a light cane shaft about 4 feet (1.2 m.) long and three-eighth inch (9 mm.) thick.

[278] To prepare arrow poison, scorpions, centipedes, and poisonous spiders are mashed, snake venom is added, and the mixture is allowed to putrefy for several days. The poison will retain its potency for six months. It is kept in a short section of bamboo, which is carried around the waist, together with the arrow points, each in a hollow reed. Before shooting, an Indian dips the point into the poison and inserts it in the shaft.

[282] A decorated leather wrist strap is worn as a bowstring guard.

372 **Fire making.**—Fire is made by twirling an arrow on a cactus hearth; the spark is caught in dry grass.

TRADE

439 There is considerable trade between the *Goajiro* and foreigners. Firearms and ammunition, cloth, beads, blankets, rum, cutlery, corn, crude sugar, rice, plantains, and tobacco are imported in exchange for salt, cattle, cheese, milk, hides, pearls and pearl shells, logwood (*Haematoxylon campechianum*), and divi-divi (*Caesalpinia coriara*).

464 During the salt season the Indians of the interior flock to Manaure, where they are paid for loading sacks of salt into the warehouse and onto ships. Both men and women take part in the work, the men filling the sacks and the women carrying them.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 The *Goajiro* are subdivided into 30 odd matrilineal sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each identified with an animal. Some of the larger and more important sibs are split into smaller groups, each with a special totem. (See Simons, 1885, p. 796, and Weston, 1937, p. 139, for a list of the various sibs, together with the totem animals and the locality which they inhabit.) The members of any sib are more widely spread throughout the peninsula than previously thought, although in some localities, one sib may be found to the exclusion of all others. Each "caste," according to Petrullo (1937, p. 155), "holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory." The sib which is largest and wealthiest in livestock is that of the Urianas. It has many subdivisions, such as Uriana jaguar, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paularate (a song bird), and Uriana gecko (a lizard). The